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SONG OF THE SHAREHOLDER.

O what care I though brave men die,
And earth grows red with gore!
Away with peace! may war ne'er cease,
And hate live evermore.

Men lie who say war does not pay—
War made much wealth for me!
The gods are kind; and gain I find
In rout or victory.

When nations fight I taste delight—
'Tis naught to me which wins;
Long may men kill and slay, until
Old Earth no longer spins!

Then here's to Krupp! I raise my cup,
His health in blood I drink—
May he survive, wax fat and thrive,
E'en tho' all mankind sink!
T.W.M., in the "Labor Leader."

The Passing Show.

Many are now talking of Peace.

There can never be peace in Europe so long as each nation is convinced that its neighbour desires to encroach upon its territory.

To reassure each other each nation has been building huge armaments.

To reassure the German people that we mean them no harm we talk of wiping their military system out.

To destroy German militarism, Australia is starving itself, destroying its workers, and adopting conscription.

Dr. Storey, officer-in-charge of the returned wounded, states that 25 per cent. of the Australians who essayed to enter Gallipoli "were badly hit or killed." In other words, they received a warm reception.

A French paper estimates the number of killed in Europe during the war at 5,000,000, and the number of wounded at 7,000,000. This is not bad going for 12 months, but military experts assure us that matters in the Mug business will be brisker during the next few months.

Speaking in the Senate on the War Loan Bill, Senator Millen declared that the "crux of the matter was that £74,000,000 would have to be raised in Australia during the next 12 months." A little "crux" like that will not trouble the financiers and economists of the Labor Government while they are able to print notes and keep the workers fighting and hooraying instead of producing.

To rid the body politic of the useless parasite, and to relieve the working class of the blood-suckers and exploiters, is the main aim of the Socialists. Which side are you on.

There is much talk now of German efficiency and organisation, but Germany is efficient because she has used Socialist methods. Australia could be efficient if she had good organisers in control instead of jackasses and wowsers.

Every man shot in the war, every bullet manufactured with murderous intent, every woman outraged, every fatherless war baby, every lie circulated by the press in order to arouse the people's latent savagery, becomes an additional argument for the adoption of Socialism with its sure remedy for war.

According to recent cables Karl Liebknecht is forming a new party in opposition to the Social Democratic Party in the Reichstag.

Victor Grayson, who caused a sensation in the British House of Commons some years ago by standing up for the unemployed, is at present in Sydney. He has come to Australia to regain his health—and, judging by his appearance, he badly needed a change. No one who sees him now and who remembers his old-time

tremendous energy and earnestness can help feeling genuine sorrow. His present arrangements promise little rest, as he is to undertake a lecturing tour and as much literary work as possible. He is opposed to our way of thinking regarding the war and conscription, but the ingratitude and indifference of the people, with failing health, may account for much of that, while it prompts to generous handling of his views.

"Inquiries made reveal that the country police of this State are receiving 10/- for every man they catch."—Sydney "Sun."

Trading in cannon-bellows.

"The order to pay the police was made some months ago while the late Mr. E. C. Day was the Inspector-General. He received his instructions from the State Government, and notices were sent to every police-station. The police, it is admitted, have sent along from the country a large number of men, some of whom have gone to the Dardanelles, while others are now in camp at Liverpool. Members of the force are still energetically working to get men at 10/- a head."—Sydney "Sun."

This accounts for the marvellous energy of the police, but what can account for the wonderful enthusiasm of Premier Holman and other politicians?

A record harvest is expected in the coming season, and farmers are expecting to be able to wipe off some of their arrears—mortgages, rent, interest, etc. Those who hold the whip over them are planning how to spend the riches they are going to reap. When the war is over there will probably be a rush to Europe to see the sites of some of the great battles.

"The hour of crisis in the Great War is at hand."—Premier Holman.

A crisis in the organisation of the people's food supply has already been reached, and the Holman Government has been found wanting.

N.S.W. Commercial Travellers held their annual bazaar last Saturday evening. After a great feast the commercial gents, in their cigars, and with something stimulating in liquid form close handy, leaned back in their comfortable seats to listen to Premier Holman while he boasted the Glorious Empire and flayed its ruthless traitors. Holman's effort was said to be a magnificent one, and when he concluded every man stood up and cheered the gallant fight they are making for civilization, etcetera. In the last round Holman fairly knocked the sawdust stuffing out of everything that isn't British, and his peroration was as follows:—

"It is the boast of the British race that valour finds it stronger than prosperity. Any coward can fight while the ball is at his foot, but in the days of darkness the fiery spirit of the British displays itself. I believe that that spirit is not dead, and that we are not degenerate descendants of our forefathers. We are ready to conquer anything that stands in our way. I rejoice to be here to help you celebrate the patriotic spirit which animates every man round these tables, and I hope that long before the next annual celebration our representatives of the army and navy may have laid low the enemy against whom our forces are directed, and we may celebrate the passing away of the greatest danger which has ever threatened civilisation."

With such fine fighting, feasting and jaw-wagging qualities we must surely wallop the universe.

We now have a Hero Helpers' Committee in Sydney, and State Attorney-General Hall says that "Never again will we see returned soldiers dying in the work-house." Perhaps! But in the meantime the first batch weren't met very enthusiastically when they returned.

Last Sunday, Sydney "Sun" reprinted the opening paragraphs from our leader in last week's issue on how production is checked, even under Labor Government. We are glad of this, not because of the

free advertisement afforded our paper, but because of the wider publicity the views expressed in the article thus obtained. At the present time, when production is a matter of such vital importance, it is courting disaster, famine, and untold misery within the next few months to allow speculators and politicians to keep land out of use and willing workers idle. It is up to some Labor member to ask Holman's Government for a return showing how many blocks have been thrown open to farmers during the last year, how many farmers applied, and how many were disappointed and had their deposits returned. Such a return would open the eyes of the public to one of the gigantic crimes of politicians. Some years ago the writer prepared such a return and gave it to a prominent member of the State Labor Party, but the revelation was so condemnatory of the old parties that it never saw the light again.

The Pope has authorised the priests in Italy to pray for an Italian victory. In Germany and Austria they are praying on the other side, against Italy. His Holiness's spokesmen are thus hopelessly divided and a "house divided against itself cannot stand."

Bishop Mereer, formerly Bishop of Tasmania, speaking at St. Mary's Church, Prittlewell, Essex, said that "the Holy Spirit was a living, working person to-day, and his work could be seen in the world." Most people will be apt to think that Satan is the more active to-day—especially in Europe.

"The Colliery Owners are doing everything they can to delay a settlement. And very naturally. An increase of 20 per cent., which is certainly justified, means perhaps £250,000 a week out of their pockets. Each week of delay is a clear gain of a quarter of a million pounds to them. In order to retain this pleasant sum, in order to rob the men of it, they will exploit the men's loyalty and patriotism to the last hour."—Arnold Bennett, before the Welsh Miners' Strike.

The men, however, refused to be exploited, and at the proper time struck and brought the coal barons and plutocratic parasites up to the economic bull-ring.

The Federal Labor Government is asking the workers to shed their blood and give up their lives for this country and the Empire, and at the same time it proposes to ask the owning class to lend it £20,000,000 at 4 per cent. The one class is thus invited to sacrifice everything, and the other not to sacrifice anything but actually to make money out of the present crisis. A real Labor Government would not do this. A real Labor Government would tell the capitalists that while the workers are giving their lives, the other class should at least give some cash. But Mr. Fisher, bluffing vigorously, says such a proposal is "too academic." Being a true worshipper at the shrine of profit, he doesn't see that the needs of the country should be set above the interests of the moneylenders.

According to Prime Minister Fisher, it is quite right to recruit the workers, but to recruit the cash of the plutocrats is "too academic."

The latest official figures show that the cost of living has increased most of all in Victoria, the increase there being 33 per cent. as against 28 per cent. in South Australia, 27 in Queensland, 20 in Tasmania, 16 in N.S.W., and 13 in W.A. Victoria has the worst unemployment figures, and at the same time about the highest average of enlistments. The workers there are about the worst treated, most robbed, and most patriotic. They say in effect: "Conditions may be execrable, but we'll give up our lives to defend them."

G. S. Beeby, lawyer and ex-Labor Minister, attended the Farmers' and Settlers' Conference as a delegate from "the Metropolitan branch of the Association."

Farmers like Mr. Beeby do not cultivate the soil, they cultivate the farmers who do. And they do this in well-appointed offices in the city.

New buildings to the value of £5,724,018 were erected during the year—July 1, 1914, to June 30, 1915—in the city of Sydney and the metropolitan area. These buildings were built by workers for other people who are now vigorously urging them to enlist and defend them. And the workers are heroically responding to the call!

The working Mug, even while he sees his own family starving, grows sentimental over the starving Belgians. The plute, who is shrewder, makes a great show of feeling, but the increasing cost of living, high rents and big profits, indicate unmistakably that his sentiment is mere centiment.

When the warlords are through with killing off the Mugs, there will probably be enough knowledge left in the world to make it impossible to run the old order in the same old way. When the battered remnant in Europe sees what nationalism and individualism has brought it will unerringly turn to Socialism.

The American Socialist magazines advertised in another column are specially interesting just now, and readers of the "International" will do well to become subscribers and readers of same. In these magazines the war and world politics are treated philosophically by America's foremost writers, and every issue is full of good things. Sample copies can be forwarded post free for 7d. from our Literature Department.

During 1912, 12,080 agricultural laborers were imported into Denmark to work on the farms. Of these, 9600 were women and children. Anticipating the great demand for female and child labor that may arise after the war.

"Great revolutions, whatever may be their causes, are not lightly commenced, and are not concluded with precipitation."—Disraeli.

Stirring times seem to indicate that the greatest revolution in the world's history is on the way.

The Emotionalist.

He annoys me; for why does he float
On such false golden cloud,
Or splash through such cisterns of tears?
He's so fond of a "lump in the throat."
"It's got me, my boy, it's the language he uses;
Eternally gapes with the crowd,
And vibrates to their joys and their fears.
One minute he hates you; the next,
With tears in his eyes,
He wrings off your hand. He's as frank
As a child that is jolly or vexed.
Most times there's the whiff of a drink or so
round him.
He doesn't "pretend to be wise."
He's a "business man—known at the bank."
He is slapped on the back by the "boys."
"Well, what's the good word!"
Life's a snorting bad broncho he rides,
Yet a riotous romp he enjoys.
Good actors and orators stir him to thunder-
ous
Feeling applause. He is stirred
By "raw life" in tumultuous tides.

Histrionics he shows—and yet all
Of his nature, not part,
And his slow, elephantine finesse
And his rapid mood-changes enthrall;
So I miss him when gone, for I can't tell
just how
But the fellow creeps into one's heart
As the symbol of generousness.

It's true. After all, life to him
Is brand-new every day.
To feel things, not stopping to thing;
On the high seas of drama to swim;
Experience sensations—well, that's all of
life,
As an artist might say
So he gulps life down quick, like his drink!
WILLIAM ROSE BENET,
in The "Masses."

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Write on paper not larger than letter paper, and thin enough to avoid getting us fined for over-weight.

Mark the package "Press Matter Only" and address it "To the Editor."

Write briefly and clearly, as long and undecipherable articles stand no chance of publication.

Do not send business communications to the Editor, or literary matter to the Manager. To do so only causes confusion and delay.

If your article is not published do not conclude that it is because it is of no merit, for it may be simply owing to the fact that it is not in accordance with the above rules. Where possible, articles of importance should be type-written.

WHEN YOUR SUBSCRIPTION IS DUE.

The number on the wrapper of your paper is the number at which your subscription expires. Renew before that number is reached.

Here is the one spot on earth where the proletarian movement ought to be the strongest, and where it is, practically speaking, the weakest.

—Charles Edward Russell on Australia.

Capitalism in China.

Whilst Australians are busy fighting against militarism in Germany, and their political leaders are busy sneaking con- to the Commonwealth, it should be worth while to note what our neighbours in China are doing.

To the flowery land, the war in Europe has acted like a magic stimulus, and Western "civilisation," which previously had been struggling for a foothold, has taken firm root and is growing like a green bay tree.

Advices from Shanghai inform us that immensely tall chimney stacks are now rearing their heads above the tallest buildings, and the smoke from these hangs like a dark foreboding over the city and its environs.

These stacks are but the forerunners of a larger number that will spread their pall over wider and wider areas until they have found their way into the very heart of China and altered the course of its very life-blood.

China already threatens India as a manufacturing country. The Chinese workman is more skilful than the Indian, and much cheaper than the European. The supply of Chinese labor is practically inexhaustible, and the wages awfully low—low enough to gladden the heart of the most voracious Western exploiter. In mills owned and managed by foreigners, women get from fivepence to tenpence for a day of twelve working hours. They would work for less, but where the profits reach as high as 50 per cent. the capitalist screw is not tightened too suddenly.

In Shanghai there are already 18 cotton mills and more are being constructed, for there is no limit to the possibilities of sweating and profit-making in China, where a huge mass of people live on the verge of starvation.

Factory laws are as yet unknown in the cotton mills of Shanghai, and the administration of industrial affairs is absolutely in the hands of the foreign masters. Into this administration no one is allowed to enquire. "No admittance" to the factories is a rule that is rigidly enforced, and yet the intelligent Chinese slave sees how the wind is blowing, and makes known to the outer world what is happening.

From the slaves themselves we learn that skilful brown-eyed women with deft hands manipulate the intricate machinery, while their moon-faced, wild-eyed children are huddled in groups everywhere. Female labor is lavishly applied just now for the Lancashire mills are practically

out of competition and profits of 57 per cent. are easily obtained.

Few men are seen in the Chinese factories. Industrious women on crumpled feet, and even children of eight and nine totter about like dwarfs amidst the giant forces. Custom and superstition handicaps the locomotion of Chinese women, and they are conveyed from the localities in which they live to the mills in vehicles pushed by male coolies. Their bound feet as yet necessitate this, but capitalism is getting ready to remove the hindering bands and make its slaves more efficient and more cheap.

The hours of labor are usually from six to six day and night, until Saturday, when the night shift extends to 10 on Sunday morning. No meal hours are assigned, food being taken while the slaves are working. There are no safeguards against accident, the slaves are too cheap—even in their own estimation.

Western capitalists are not only transferring the cotton industry to China. Boots and shoes, matches, tobacco, and cigars are also being made by Chinese slaves under foreign owners, and capital is flowing with increasing volume and momentum into the new sweaters' paradise. Lever Bros. are opening a vast soap-making business with capital enough to make soap for the universe. Surveyors are spying out the land, also the rivers, with a view to future possibilities. These men will spread "business" into the provinces, along the wonderful waterways, and thus tap the inexhaustible supplies of cheap labor and profits. No trade unions bar their way, and labor agitators, altruists, and other hostile elements are a negligible quantity.

Yuan Shi Kai is rapidly being "educated" by the trusts and fabulous wealth is already at his fee. He is gradually opening the way to Standard Oil, Coal, and Iron Trusts, and is encouraging the teeming millions of slaves to pass under the yoke of the "foreign devils." In the wonderful Yangtze River basin, probably the richest productive region in Asia, Belgian, French and Japanese interests are flourishing. On this incomparable soil, primitive methods have hitherto supplied the needs of a teeming population. Soon the gang plow and the mammoth harvester will come and the millions will vanish. Railways will tread the network of canals and waterways, and will bear away to be sold for profit the food of the needy slaves.

When we see millions of Europeans, Canadians, and Australians fighting in Europe for world domination, we can only see what world domination means by studying China, India, Africa and other sweaters' paradises that are now opening. While the workers are fighting to "overthrow militarism," their masters are bringing new slaves into the market, and are forging new fetters for the old ones. The fight against militarism furnishes them with an argument for more militarism in the shape of military and industrial conscription.

BERNARD SHAW INDICTS JUNKETERS.

In a recent letter in "The New Statesman," Bernard Shaw deals with the question why the economic organisation and measures for war purposes have not been applied hitherto in times of peace. His criticism is brilliant and is as applicable here as it is to Britain. Part of it is as follows:—

"The main reason why I do not make our British voters happy in M. Saintyves' fashion is that I do not want to make them happy. I want to make them howl, to drive them to rend their hearts and not their garments; to see them heap ashes on their silly heads whilst they confess in the dust, with humble and contrite hearts, that though they may buy victory with their blood and iron, they deserve defeat and even extermination, and have no plea to offer against that doom except that the Germans deserve no less. For just consider how I must feel about it. I read in 'The Times' Lord Curzon's demand for the suppression of the Derby on the ground that it is unbecoming to have 'junketings' in the face of bereavement and wounds and death. I ask Lord Curzon whether he supposes that there has been a single Derby run during his lifetime, or a single junketing of any description, that has not been held in the teeth of the most abominable socially preventable evils, including child mortality, compulsory prostitution, artificially produced vice, disease, degradation, suffering, squalor, fraud, violence, plague, pestilence, and famine; battle, murder and sudden death. Mr. Sidney Webb offers to put an end to British unemployment and destitution, with their infinite loss and demoralisation, for a paltry couple of million pounds. Sir Horace Plunkett offers to quadruple the produce of the Irish soil, and thereby avert the land and labor war that is hang-

ing over Ireland, at a cost of £5,000 a year for technical education in agriculture. They might as well ask for the sun and stars. No mother sends her son to live for England. No father shakes his son's hand and says, 'I wish I were young enough to stand beside you in the fight for a decent country to live in.' Yet for this senseless suicidal slaughter of civilisation in Flanders and Poland, this illusory hatred, this monstrous fruit of selfish, lazy apathy, soothed by huge doses of falsehood, we are putting down millions of pounds eagerly; and the mothers and fathers are sending their sons to kill and die, to maim and be maimed, because none of them took as much thought and care for the welfare of Europe as for the shininess of their boots. And now that we are waked up at last, our first step is to cut off all the little grants-in-aid that a few struggling reformers have managed to procure for our social needs, and to sweep them into the till of the armament contractor. That is what it costs to make a Briton serious. We are more callous than Tartars or Hottentots. With them a few dozen heads chopped off and piled in the middle of the street, and a few girls buried alive under the poorest of the king, produce public seriousness enough for a whole reign. But we must have 30,000 men in the flower of their youth bayoneted and smashed and shattered and pierced and blinded and deafened with inconceivable violence every morning for months before we can feel really fine, and thrill with admiration of ourselves. Even then our notion of rising to the occasion is to applaud the gentlemen who write to the papers calling on me to cease frovelling and flatter them."

PRIESCRAFT.

Speaking at a meeting for the purpose of recruiting in Melbourne one named the Rev. Newport White said: "The question now was not, could a Christian man conscientiously take up arms and fight, but could a Christian man stay at home under present conditions while there were Germans left to be killed?" These and similar utterances of these gentry all the world over (I think) go to prove that as the leopard cannot change his spots neither can the priest change his nature. To a man who has read the history of any nation—savage or civilised—this fact stands out very clearly, that the priest has always taken the part of a bloodthirsty murderer, and to-day one has only to listen to these cannibalistic utterances to realise how true nature has thrown them to type. Strip them of their black coats, daub them with paint, stick a few feathers in their hair, hand over a few thousand German prisoners, and what a glorious revival of priestcraft we should witness. How ready they would be to take the knife, and concocting some mummery which they would sanctify as religious rites, what sweet balm it would be to their souls, as they tear the still pulsating hearts from the bodies of their victims and feed them to the sacred flames on the altar of their blood-loving gods! With what gusto they would feed the little German children into the fiery belly of their Moloch! You can hear the exclamations of delight as they claimed their share, the priest's share, of those women, "who had not known man!" How much suffering the world owes to priestcraft; "only the millions of victims sacrificed by them, on every altar throughout the ages," could, if they had tongue, testify. All we can do is to ponder and shudder, knowing them for what they have been, and what they remain. See them to-day with blazing eyes crying their ever vocational cry, "Kill! Kill!" Watch them as they extend their vulture-like hands in a very frenzy of contemplated murder, and you realise that the priest is one of the greatest enemies of human progress. He is a factor used by the owning class to subject your mind by mummery and superstition to keep you and your fellows apart, while your owners systematically rob you of all pleasure and all peace, and starve your children, and clothe your wife in rags, and turn this fair world into a shambles—for what? Profit. Stir yourselves, comrades! Ours is the true fight. Ours is the battle for liberty, not murder, but to establish a society where the name and trade of priest, parson or whatever they call themselves, shall not be known, but where a state of peace on earth, goodwill to all men, will be a reality, founded on economic justice, and asking for all according to their ability, giving to each according to their needs.

K. K.

The social revolution . . . cannot draw its poetry from the past, it can draw that only from the future. It cannot start upon its work before it has stricken off all superstition concerning the past.—Karl Marx, in "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte."

Notes on Adelaide.

The movement in Adelaide is dead, were it not for a small band of men and women of many shades of political opinion and religious belief, organised in what is known as the Peace Alliance, no organised opposition to war and conscription would be undertaken.

The Peace Alliance is doing good work in tempering the jingoistic ideas of bloody thirsty patriots, and judging by recent meetings, will meet with much active support in the near future. If enthusiasm for an unpopular cause will help to make such a cause popular, then the men and women of the Peace Alliance have more than necessary to achieve success.

The chief propagandists are J. E. Hill, a High School Teacher, and F. J. Riley. Both are good, capable speakers. The first is quiet, serene, and earnest, while F. J. Riley is the same F. J. R. we knew in Sydney—pugnacious and vitriolic as ever.

After hearing Mr. Hills deliver a passionate appeal to his audience to surrender their beliefs that war must be waged, refuse to recruit, one is convinced that is a type of those evergreen men, who Jerome K. Jerome describes as "They are only the quiet, strong folk, staunch and steadfast—the same in all times, through all seasons—ever the same, ever green. The spring cannot brighten them, the summer cannot scorch them, the autumn cannot wither them, the winter cannot kill them. The storms of life sweep over them, and the rains beat down upon them, and the biting frosts creep round them, but the winds and the rains and the frosts pass away, and they are still standing green and straight."

Other members of the Peace Alliance whom I have met, who have an unlimited enthusiasm for the cause of peace, are Miss Hodgson and Mr. and Mrs. Stone. Readers of the "International" will at least know one (Mrs. Stone) by her pen name of Sydney Partridge.

The Government of this State are concerned about the welfare of its peace advocates, for a goodly number of uniformed and plain-clothed policemen attend regularly the peace meetings in the Botanical Park—the Domain of Adelaide. From personal observations, I think they are needed, for the park audiences are the most ignorant of all audiences one would meet with in the cities of Australia, for it takes very little to upset the jingoistic elements, and riot at all times is probable. Whilst the police are necessary to keep this element in order, they should at least be instructed to refrain from taking the names of speakers as they did mine last Sunday for seditious utterances.

In conclusion, I would like to inform comrades that the Socialist movement would not lose, but would gain considerably, by co-operation with the band of men and women who compose the Adelaide Peace Alliance. I hope that in the near future—irrespective of whether our ideas for the opposing the war spring from a different standpoint, to all us co-operating in opposition to war with organisations of the same character, who can lay claim to having such a band of earnest and determined men and women as members.

H. L. DENFORD.

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

The Socialist movement has based itself upon the proletariat. That fact is undeniable. From the time of the Marxian statement in the Communist Manifesto, there could no longer be any doubt that henceforward the Socialist movement relied upon the proletariat class alone as the stimulating factor in social revolution. This was not always the case, for the early Socialists who had proclaimed their utopian ideas prior to the publication of the Communist Manifesto, had calculated upon something quite other than proletarianism for their victory over the oppression and misery with which they saw themselves surrounded, and which it was their benevolent and philanthropic mission to destroy. The early Socialists had sought to impress their ideas upon the more fortunate, and, by a sort of religion and experimental society building, to purge the world of the evils which possessed it and prepare for a paradisaical condition of equality and well-being. Against these concepts the pioneers of the modern Socialist movement were compelled to struggle at the very inception, and thus was written the Communist Manifesto, the first proclamation of the fundamental principles now underlying the world-wide Socialist movement, which asks the question, "In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?" and replies, "The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties. They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.—Austin Lewis, in "The Militant Proletariat."

Some Alleged "Fallacies and Delusions of Socialists"

In issues of 26th June and 10th July the articles of Wyatt E. Jones in criticism of the Socialist contention that a comparatively few, but powerful, capitalists are by their concentrating of capital tending to eliminate the middle class, composed mainly of small capitalists and small distributors or merchants. Our critic says this is not the true state of affairs, and quotes statistics to prove the contrary—viz., that the middle class or classes are increasing both in numbers and wealth. The figure as to incomes and their increase are valueless, because they fail to show the occupations of those receiving them, and this is just precisely where the error occurs. It is not enough to prove an increase in the numbers of those paying income tax, because the increase in question merely represents a growing number of salaried employees. Boudin in his "Theoretical System of Karl Marx," Chapter 8, clearly shows the nature of the economic and social changes due to trust development. He says, "A capitalistic class, not owning any capital, as the so-called 'new' middle class, is a contradiction in terms, an anomaly." And again: "The truth is that the 'new' propertyless middle class is not a capitalistic class. It is no middle class at all. It is true that it stands in the middle between the capitalist class and the working-class and in this sense it is more of a 'middle' than the old middle class, which was nothing but the lower strata of the capitalist class. But it is no class. A class is not merely an aggregation of individuals having a more or less similar income obtained in a more or less similar way. In order that any aggregation of individuals should really form a social class they must perform social economic function. The existence of the 'new middle class' is entirely too aerial to give it position as a social class. Large sections of the proletariat are counted as belonging to the middle class, that is, the lower strata of the capitalist class. This is the case with almost all those numerous and growing occupations in which the remuneration is termed 'salary' instead of 'wages.' All these salaried persons, no matter what their salaries may be, who make up perhaps the bulk and certainly a great portion of the 'new' middle class are in reality just as much a part of the proletariat as the merest day laborer. Its existence does not retard the process of the centralisation of wealth, but on the contrary is its direct result." Boudin further points out that Marx did not assume all the middle class must disappear, and adds: "It is not so much the merging of the persons who compose the middle class into the proletariat that is required as their severance from their property. For the passing of our society from its capitalistic form of production to a socialistic form of production that is for the socialisation of the means of production the only things that are of paramount importance are, first, that these means of production should be social in their character, and the more social the better (the concentration of capital), and, second, that these means of production should tend themselves to social management—that is, be in the hands of as few persons as possible (the centralisation of wealth). Whatever, therefore, has been said of the middle class by the corporation with regard to numbers, has been destroyed, and very largely by this very agency as to character; the middle class, that middle class which Marx had in view—the middle class which was a factor obstructing the way towards socialism is doomed." It is also pointed out that the corporation by abolishing private property and establishing collective property is striking at the very basis of capitalism and demolishing the household gods of the true and original middle class! To get the full force of the argument readers would do well to read the chapter in Boudin's work from which I have so freely quoted. It will, therefore, be seen that taking income tax returns without reference to source of income is somewhat misleading, and to say that "the increase in the number of small capitalists is 16 times, while the increase of very rich is 11 times that of 1815" is no indication of the aggregate wealth of the very rich in comparison with the small capitalists, and the income tax returns throw no light on that subject any more than they do on the occupations of middle class groups. We know the very rich are fast growing in numbers, but in wealth they far outstrip the middle class, and here, let it be remarked, that Bernstein, perhaps the original critic of Marx on this subject, does not deny the absolute and relative growth of the working class, and this growth can only be at the expense of the "small fry" of the capitalist class. In his analysis of income tax returns Mr. Chiozza Money points out that "more than one-third of

the entire income of the United Kingdom is enjoyed by less than one-thirtieth of its people." It is also shown that in Prussia and Saxony "the number of large incomes have increased in greater ratio than the others. Thus in Saxony incomes of £165 to £480 have increased 74 per cent, while incomes of over £2,700 have increased 272 per cent. In Prussia incomes of £300 to £1525 have increased 46.1 per cent, while incomes over £5000 have increased 100 per cent. The New York "Volkzeitung" challenged Bernstein to deal with the premier example of accumulation of wealth in the hand of the few, viz., America, but he refused to do so. Concerning accumulated wealth apart from income, Mr. Money says: "About one-seventieth part of the population owns far more than one-half the entire accumulated wealth, public and private, of the United Kingdom." Correctly understood, the Income Tax returns verify the Marxian theory.

Coming to our critic's remarks in issue of 10th inst., we come to the core of the problem, where he asks: "Why is it that the big capitalists are not squeezing out the small capitalists," and the answer, we are told is that they do so "but new ones and more of them are taking their place." Which means the big capitalist is laboring in vain, the big capitalist cannot defeat the little one, or rather make it unremunerative for him to engage in business. First, we are told the number of book-sellers is increasing, also the enormous increase of newspapers in America. Considering the spread of education, this is not surprising. Most persons read to-day. In 1840, education was much more backward. The statistics regarding newspapers are valueless because they give no indication as to ownership and circulation. For instance, the newspapers, and they are numerous, owned or controlled by millionaire Hearst, claim a circulation of over twenty millions weekly and Arthur Brisbane who wrote their leading editorials, received as salary £10,000 per annum. But an equal number of newspapers, in the sparsely populated Western States, although ranking the same in the returns and requiring little capital to start, have not a combined circulation equal to one of the numerous Hearst newspapers. And these great newspapers have their hired staff of highly paid contributors, just as the Steel Trust have their staff of hired inventors. Considering the enormous circulation, the number of those who wax wealthy in the newspaper line is not large. It is little short of absurd to quote the figures, showing the increase in numbers and amounts deposited, etc., in American banks without showing the large number of banks controlled by the Morgan and other groups of wealthy financiers. The Morgan, Rockefeller, and a few similar interests control the bulk of American banks. Now we come to the stores "over whose fate Marxian orators so often weep," says our critic. Again we have a block of statistics or nothing. The number of small stores has increased enormously, the rental of stores nearly doubled, hence the small capitalist is not being eliminated. Just as there are numerous factories of all sorts and sizes in England owned by the Imperial Tobacco Company, so there are numerous stores in that company owned by the same company, such as Salmon and Gluckstein's, A. Baker & Coy., and A. Jones and Coy. Other big firms such as Messrs. Freeman, Hardy and Willis, have stores in nearly every big town, and by their amalgamation with Rabbits and Coy. of London, have obtained control of a large number of stores in London. Lipton's have stores in every industrial centre, as have Boots and Co., chemists. Although most of these stores are small or medium sized, they are nevertheless evidences of concentration. The fact is the cream of the cash trade in England is in the hands of the multiple stores and co-operative societies, leaving the small store-keeper the hazardous credit trade. Furthermore, a number of small stores are merely auxiliary means of income, the husband working in mill or mine, his wife, or a member of his family, carrying on the store business. Others having accumulated after much thrift a small sum of money, resolve to get off the labor market and start a small business, and too often find themselves ruined by the credit trade. No wonder 90 per cent. of small business concern fail. In every department of retail trade combination is met with. Most retail tobaccoists are merely agents for the Imperial Tobacco Company, and firms such as Lever Brothers are obtaining great power. In America huge mail order houses such as Montgomery, Ward & Co., who employ from 5000 to 6000 "hands," and have no store trade, do an enormous business. It is alleged one in every eight persons in the States deals more or less with these firms. That oft-quoted authority—J. A. Hobson, says in his book, "Evolution of Capitalism," p. 89: "Large syndicates of Capitalism at Smithfield are owning butchers' shops in most large towns, the draper's shops in most large towns, the pery, jewellery, and shoe trade are more

Australasian Socialist Party. Principles and Policy.

1. Objective.

The Social ownership with Democratic control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.

2. Statement of Principles.

The present form of Society rests on private ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and machinery of production constitute what is economically known as the capitalist class. Hence the use of the term, "The capitalist form of society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the capitalist class and the working class.

The working class produces all the wealth that sustains society, while it is held in complete economic and industrial subjection to the capitalist class, which lives on the wealth produced by the working class.

To enable the working class to wage the class war, it must be fully conscious of the wrongs inflicted upon the workers by the capitalist class; and it must organise industrially to voice its wrongs and assert its claims. Then it will be prepared for political action to overthrow the usurping class and to abolish classes for ever.

The deaths by starvation, the millions of unemployed, the excessive toil for bare subsistence, the poverty, crime and consequent misery, are all the direct outcome of domination by the ruling class. That class must go.

The Australasian Socialist Party demands common ownership of all agencies of wealth production by the people themselves and the control of all industrial affairs on the basis of social equality.

The workers of Australasia must, without delay, take up their position along with the organised, class-conscious workers of all other countries. There is no escape from the thrall of capitalism short of its complete overthrow, and this can only be achieved by the class-conscious industrial and political organisation of the working class.

The Australasian Socialist Party, therefore, calls upon all workers to forthwith identify themselves with the existing A.S.P. Branches in their respective States, and to work unceasingly for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system, and for the emancipation of their class from wage slavery.

3. Guiding Rule.

The Australasian Socialist Party shall on all political and industrial legislation make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: Will the proposal advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it will, the Australasian Socialist Party is for it; if it will not, the Australasian Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it.

4. As to Palliatives.

Whereas the advocacy of political palliatives (so-called) tends to obscure the working class objective of emancipation from wage slavery, and thus causes the workers to expend time and effort to little purpose; and

Whereas political palliatives (so-called) as adopted by legislatures have rarely proved efficacious, and have usually created the need for further legislative restrictions, and therefore kept working class action circular instead of straight; and

Whereas political palliatives even if desirable are best obtained by educating and organising for basic ends, inasmuch as some have ever been conceded when something more fundamental is the demand; be it

Resolved, that the Australasian Socialist Party declares against a programme of palliatives, and urges the workers to concentrate their energies upon abolishing capitalism by perfecting their industrial organisations and only using the ballot for Socialist propaganda.

5. As to Political Action.

No member of the A.S.P. shall stand as other than the candidate of the A.S.P., or support other than the candidate of a Revolutionary Socialist Party for Parliamentary or municipal office. A Revolutionary Socialist Party shall be any party which bases its Propaganda on the recognition of the class struggle, and declares for the collective ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and has no programmes of Palliatives.

No member or branch of the A.S.P. shall

and more passing into the hands of large companies, while an increasing proportion of tobaccoists, grocers, and other retailers are practically but agents of large capitalist firms." Where properly arranged statistics are available, the true state of affairs is seen. Bernstein gives the number of shops or stores in Prussia, and the number of assistants they employ:—

Businesses with 2 and fewer assistants—1885, 411,509; 1895, 467,656, increase p.e. 13.6.

Businesses with 3—5 assistants—1885, 176,867; 1895, 342,112; increase p.e. 13.6.

Businesses with 6—50 assistants—1885, 157,328; 1895, 303,078; increase p.e., 92.6.

Businesses with 51 or more assistants—1885, 25,619; 1895, 62,056; increase p.e., 142.2.

The existence of a large and ever increasing number of small stores is simply accounted for by the fact that the extremely risky trade they cater for is not desired by the large stores, who are not enamoured of the credit system except to wealthy patrons. Twenty years ago Lord Roseberry pointed out this fact at a large co-operative gathering. But neither is the small merchant any more than the small selector, both of whom work increasingly long hours, anxious to continue their often profitless tasks one hour beyond their time when relief appears on the horizon. To-day they are following the trust-baiting crusade of the Labor Party, but when the scales fall from their eyes, they will see that Socialism is the only possible relief, the sole means of economic salvation. There is no other way.

F. SUTHERLAND.

enter into any alliance temporary or permanent with any other than a Revolutionary Socialist Party. Socialist candidates shall be selected by the branches concerned, and where no branch exists by the Central Executive, and before running be endorsed by the Branches to which the candidate shall pledge himself to advocate and support the principles and policy of the A.S.P.

Before entering upon a campaign a candidate shall hand to his Branch a written resignation to be read in the event of him swerving from the A.S.P. Policy.

A candidate must have been for twelve months a member of the A.S.P.

6. As to Unionism.

The A.S.P. aims and declares for Industrial Unionism as against craft or sectional unionism, for whereas the specialisation of the processes of production, the invention of machinery, and the concentration of ownership into fewer and fewer hands, makes craft unionism unable to cope with this economic development, and ever growing power of the employing class, the organisation has outlived its usefulness, and has created crafts and sections amongst the working class in the same industry, and this contradiction in industrial development allows the set of workers to be pitted against another, not cause it is a relic of a lower stage in the evolution of capitalist production, i.e., the organisation of labor expressions of lower forms of tools, the A.S.P. therefore declares that to-day this in the same industry, and industry against industry, thereby defeating one another when waging war against the encroachments of the capitalist class, with their superior and higher developed organisations. And in view of this economic development the working class must organise in such a manner as will correspond to the development of the tools of production. This, then, makes it imperative that industrial organisation on right lines must be so constituted that all but technical distinctions between crafts and callings must be eliminated, and sectionalism abolished. The A.S.P. therefore affirms that industrial unionism in contradistinction to craft unionism is that form of organisation which is based upon the recognition of the class struggle, and through which all its members in one industry or in all industries, if necessary, can act as a unit and adopt such methods by which the might and power of the working class can be best exercised and demonstrated.

The A.S.P. affirms its pronounced and mature conviction that Compulsory Arbitration, Wages Boards, the New Protection, and the like, as manifested in slightly-differing enactments in the Australian States and New Zealand, have not been advantageous to the working class.

7. As to Compensation.

The Australasian Socialist Party vehemently protests against the working class being misled by the Labor or other parties into the belief that it is possible to socialize the instruments of production by a gigantic scheme of "buying out," or compensation to the possessing class, and warns the workers against endorsing such a utopian, immoral, and impracticable plan.

8. As to Militarism.

The A.S.P. declares itself uncompromisingly hostile to all forms of armaments and militarism, recognising that the armed forces will be used to buttress up capitalism, and to hold down the workers. The A.S.P. further recognises that the energies of the working class can be better utilised in building up their industrial and political organisations, which shall finally render war impossible, as such organisations by international affiliation and alliances between the working classes of all nations are the chief guarantee of the peace of the world.

9. As to Schools.

In declaring the need for Socialist Schools, the A.S.P. urges that same be established whenever and wherever the circumstances permit.

10. As to Historical Materialism.

The A.S.P. pledges itself to the materialistic interpretation of history, which asserts that the transition from one system of society to another, as in the past, from primitive communism to chattel slavery, from chattel slavery to feudalism, and from feudalism to the present Capitalist State, has been the result of new and improved methods of production, and the time has now arrived when the present scientific tools of production, by being socially owned, would make possible the establishment of the Socialist Republic.

11. As to Education.

The A.S.P. declares for and supports the principle of Secular Education in State schools; and against subsidising denominational schools; and further holds that as State schools are composed of scholars of different religious beliefs, the introduction of religious teaching can only result in fostering religious bigotry, and is a waste of valuable time.

As in the heart of the feudal world the trading class gradually arose, bringing with it a new industrial system, new social forms and new moral conceptions, so in the modern world of capitalism, born of the capitalist system itself, and growing with its growth, a new industrial and social class arises, bearing with it new ideas of social organisation, new aims, new ideals, the harbingers of capitalist overthrow. This new class is the proletariat—the working class, not in its broad historic aspect, but as modified to the peculiar forms of capitalist exploitation.—Clarence Melly, in "Puritanism."

Human history is not only economic history, but also natural history. The economic history itself would not be possible without the foundation which is the special domain of natural history. The study of human evolution, therefore, requires an analysis of the biological development of mankind as well as of its economic development. From this point of view, man's development in society and his general position in the world appear as parts of the entire world-process.—Ernest Unterman, in "Science and Revolution."

More subscribers are wanted. Have You secured a new one this year?

A.S.P. News & Notes.

AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

Objective.—The social ownership with Democratic control of the means of Production, Distribution and Exchange.
Headquarters: 115 Goulburn St., Sydney.
LUKE JONES.
General Secretary.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE.

Next meeting of the C.E. will be held on Sat. August 7.

LUKE JONES,
Gen. Sec.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

The usual activities of the Sydney Branch has again been well sustained, good meetings and good sales of literature.

FIXTURES.

Com. Christopherson lectures in Hall on Sunday, August 1st, on "Industrial Democracy."

Domain.—Chair, Jenkins, Webster, Wyatt Jones and L. Jones.
Market-street.—J. McCormick, Harford and Quenton.

Park-street.—Webster, Roche and Mrs. Lorimer.

Comrade Blanc gave a very interesting address on the Life, Works and Martyrdom of Ferrer, showing how, although he has been dead some time, yet he still lives in the hearts and memories of a grateful people. A good discussion followed.

J. L. Minute Secretary.

Debate.

*The debate between Liberal and A.S.P. representatives, takes place at the Hall on Wed. Aug. 4.

NEWTOWN BRANCH.

Branch Rooms, 41 Enmore-road, Newtown.

Economic and Debating Class held every Wednesday night.

Dancing Class held every Monday night.

PROPAGANDA FIXTURES.

Friday night: Johnstone-st., Leichhardt.
Chair, S. Jackson, Speakers, C. Jackson, J. Kilburn.

Saturday night: Newtown Bridge.
Chair, C. Jackson, Speakers, J. Kilburn, J. Roche.

Sunday night: Newtown Bridge.
Chair, Speakers, C. Jackson, J. Kilburn, G. Nelson.

RAY EVERITT, Secretary.

BALMAIN.

Socialists are gaining ground here. Good propaganda meetings are being held and sales of our paper and other literature are increasing. We are having a hard battle owing to the war, but our comrades are out to win Balmain for Socialism. It is a great task to accomplish, but what a royal privilege it will be to share in the victory.

The branch is full of activity. At a recent business meeting it was resolved to invite the Rozelle Political Labor League to send along a representative to debate a Socialist, the subject to be "That if the Labor Party's Platform was put into operation it would not permanently benefit the working class." The P.L.L., however, did not respond to the challenge, which shows that they cannot defend their position. But the time will come when the working class will gain possession of everything—and institute a new system of industry, under which the exploitation of man by man will have no place. Socialism will usher in and establish a system of production and distribution for use and not for profit, and the people will own and control collectively what they collectively need and use.

At Sunday night's meeting Sloan and Nelson were the speakers, good work being accomplished and all papers sold out.

G. NELSON, Secretary.

MELBOURNE BRANCH.

We have been having very good attendances at all meetings held. At an anti-conscription meeting held at our hall three Sundays ago, we had the place filled to overflowing, as many people standing right through the lecture as were seated. Out of that there has now formed a league called the Anti-Militarist, and Anti-Conscription League, they had their inaugural meeting last Saturday, with two delegates each from five different bodies. This is the beginning, and though at the time they met, no unions had responded to the invitation to send delegates representing them to this meeting, since then we have had replies from unions, and expect to get more. In any case, they are all to again be circularised, saying that the league has now been formed.

A mass meeting is to take place at the Yarra Bank, speakers of all bodies to take part. We are getting out dodgers to advertise this, as we don't think the capitalist press will do so. Later we expect to take one of the theatres on Sunday afternoon, and get an agitation set on foot against this awful slaughter in the interest of the greed of a few mangy-minded, gold blinded capitalists, for after all, it is only a handful who caused this war, and surely it is up to the workers to arouse from their stupor.

I hope in Sydney they are getting a move on in the direction of letting the authorities know they all are not taking it laying down.

To think that we have politicians representing labor doing this to our class gets me to boiling point every time I think of it, and I am a woman. I'm sure I don't wonder at some men getting out of hand; the only wonder to me is that they don't do desperate deeds, these desperate times. At the time of writing there is a cheap brass band outside my office playing "Britain's Never, Never," etc., and people are clapping, but I don't know what it is about, but what I want to know is "When are people to get sense?" There surely must be some sort of psychology at work in the wrong direction, and we must try and find a counter to this if it is possible, but it wants a lot of doing, and I'm afraid won't be done yet awhile.

Meanwhile, let's live in hope that the effect of this war will open the eyes of the poor Ignorants who will live to come back and expose the barbarism of the whole thing. With the help of those who are class conscious, perhaps something may be done in future.

REPORT OF MELBOURNE BRANCH A.S.P., 47 VICTORIA STREET.

We have had the first two of a series of three lectures J. R. Wilson is to give on the War. On Sunday, July 11th, his subject was, "International Treaties: Their worth and usefulness." The attendance was bumper, and the collection the largest taken at any of our indoor meetings.

Sunday, 18th, his subject was "Prussian Militarism and British Navalism as factors in determining War." This also was a "house full" lecture, and is very encouraging when you know that the people who come are not those who are tainted with the prevalent disease of patriotism, but are almost normal.

Yarra meetings on both above dates were exceptionally large, and good collections were taken up, the latter due to the untiring efforts of Comrade Mabel. The speakers were all in best form, H. S. Wood, G. Jeffery, J. R. Wilson, and M. O'Shannassy all elaborating on the War and its effect upon the workers.

Literature sales are improving, the fact that we now get a larger bundle of "International Socialists" bears out same.

Monday, 19th, our half-yearly meeting for election of officers of the party was held about 34 members being present, including four new members. The following officers were declared elected to the various positions:—

Secretary, J. R. Wilson; minute sec., A. S. Gardiner; literature, Sec. J. Lesk; treasurer, A. Rooney; trustees, Mrs. S. Nicholson, and Mrs. Rooney; librarian, A. Crookie; executive officers, Mrs. Johnson, A. Parker, F. Szepanski, M. O'Shannassy and last, but not least our old friend G. Jeffery.

The ladies of the branch are holding a Fraternity Night on Aug. 3rd, and have had the honour of having their tickets printed by our own press. This is the very first work done by it, but soon we hope to DO THINGS with this little press, so ladies work hard and make the Fraternity night a success, and everything else you take in hand, and soon a real live press will loom on the horizon of our Branch. This will then be a long nursed ideal made real. By the way, of course, we want the men to help us to make this a success. You see, I have mixed up the Fraternity Night and the Press together, so that there will be no excuse for those who do not like frivolity to stay away, for they have the solid front of a future press confronting them, which will materialise considerably more when they also use every effort to make everything taken in hand a thorough success.

So good luck for the future Press we hope to build.

Yours for the revolt,
A.S.G., Min Sec.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

PRESS AND MAINTENANCE FUND.

H. Leslie 1/-, Domain Collection 11/-, T. Rust 1/-, C. Cupitt 1/-, R. King 1/-, Mrs. Macdonald 5/-, A. L. Roberts 6/-, I.S. Club Social 10/-.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

M. Bartels 4/-, Mrs. White 2/-, H. Leslie 2/-, J. L. James 4/-, H. C. Nykamp 1/-, P. C. Rose 1/-, C. Pilcher 1/-, H. Fagan 1/-, H. Pender 4/-, J. Jack 4/-, F. Boge 4/-, J. Heard 1/-, A. L. Roberts 4/-, John Gray 4/-, A. Steptoe 2/-, J. Wessler 2/-.

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